1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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The Gros Ventre also introduce into the ceremony a thunder symbolism that the Arapaho lack, or have in a much less developed form. The lightning symbol on the centre pole, from which water can be drawn, and the power of the thunder to strike with lightning any dancer who drinks other water than this, evidence this.

Another element special to the Gros Ventre is the introduction of ceremonies relating to war, such as the dramatic performances and the seeing of the approach of the enemy by the pledger.

Features introducing miraculous and sometimes purely personal supernatural powers are apparently quite lacking from the Arapaho ceremony. Among the Gros Ventre there are the raising of the centre pole, the production of water from the centre pole with the crow, the clairvoyance of the pledger as regards the enemy, and the visions of some of the dancers.

In summary, the exact duration and sequence of all events in the Gros Ventre ceremony are not yet clear; the preliminary prairie-chicken tent does not correspond very closely to the Arapaho rabbit-tent; and the connection of the ceremony with the thunder, the introduction of warlike elements, and that of miraculous or personal features, are peculiar, or nearly so, to the Gros Ventre as compared with the Arapaho.

MODERN CEREMONIAL OBJECTS.

The recent ceremonial objects of the Gros Ventre are somewhat different from those of the Arapaho. The Arapaho were deeply affected by the ghost-dance movement, more, it is said, than any other tribe; and many of their modern religious regalia have a distinct character of their own. The Gros Ventre received the ghost-dance from the Arapaho, but it seems to have taken little hold of them. The only distinctive ghost-dance objects seen or obtained were two small hoops and a few balls, all of which resemble Arapaho types. The chief modern dance-ceremony of the Gros Ventre, the only one performed at present, is the grass or war dance obtained from the Sioux, and evidently a modification of the widespread Omaha dance upon which the Arapaho crow-dance is also based. This dance has in recent years been still further modified, until its character now is very similar to that of the crow-dance. The regalia used in this dance at present are very individual, usually crude, and almost always stylistically degenerate. The delicate character and distinct style of the majority of modern Arapaho dance-objects are lacking.

The treatment of feathers in such objects is quite different among the Gros Ventre and Arapaho. The Gros Ventre rarely ornament their feathers

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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with dyed plumes or tufts of horsehair, as the Arapaho so frequently do both at the base and top of the feather. Feathers with the vanes cut from the quill, except at the very top, are also scarcely used by the Gros Ventre. Instead, they usually cut the feather squarely off across its end, or split the quill, from the end down, for the greater part of its length. Sometimes the uppermost part of the quill is entirely removed, with its attached portions of the vanes, leaving the top of the feather forked. Plume-feathers are also much less used by the Gros Ventre than by the Arapaho. In dyeing, the Gros Ventre generally used cruder colors; a blue-violet, a pink-red, a light-bluish green, and yellow, all of them aniline colors, being the most common. The Arapaho use true red and green more frequently, and in most cases employ the dyes more lightly, thus obtaining endurable or delicate effects where the Gros Ventre are garish.

The Gros Ventre methods of feather-treatment, both the cutting-off and the splitting of the end of the feather, go back, at least in part, to their older tribal ceremonies. Both these processes are found employed on the dog-dance regalia described.

As regards other differences, the Gros Ventre probably employ more weasel-skin in ornaments than the Arapaho, though far less than their neighbors the Blackfeet. They use cloth (both cotton and woollen goods), red, green, or blue, without reluctance; whereas the Arapaho have clung very tenaciously to skin in all ceremonial objects. Skin thongs and sinew for binding are, however, very rarely replaced by strings and thread, even with the Gros Ventre.

The few objects obtained belonging to the ghost-dance movement are the following.

Fig. 41 shows an imitation of a netted playing-wheel. The piece is about two inches in diameter. The stitch of the meshes seems to be correct, though there are fewer meshes than in the full-sized wheels. The "crow," the centre mesh, is painted red; the rest of the thong, yellow. To the centre mesh are attached four magpie-feathers cut off across. This object was worn tied to the hair on the side of the head, or hanging from the little finger when the people joined hands to dance. Several very similar objects, lacking the feathers, are attached to the girl's painted dress shown in "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History" (Vol. XVIII, Plate LXXV).

A head-dress consisting of a hoop of about the same size, quill-wound and bisected by two quill-wound strings, and of three long, blue-and-white quill-wound pendant thongs with plume-feathers at the ends, was collected by Dr. Clark Wissler. It is not known whether it belongs to the war-dance or the ghost-dance: its general similarity to certain Arapaho head-dresses

l: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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makes the latter seem possible. It differs from Arapaho objects chiefly in that the color-ornamentation of the quill-wrapping divides the hoop into three instead of four parts. At the upper end of the hoop is attached a bunch of seven small strips of whitish rabbit-fur, resembling the weasel-skin style of ornamentation characteristic of the Blackfoot.

Two balls (Figs. 24 and 25) are identical in character with Arapaho ghost-dance objects, and the latter was made in connection with the movement. These balls are described above.

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Fig. 41 (50–1922). Wheel Head-dress. Length, 21 cm.

The following objects, many of which were obtained by Dr. Clark Wissler and which were probably not connected with the ghost-dance, are of a character that does not seem to make it worth while to represent them in illustrations; but they resemble Arapaho or other pieces sufficiently for a brief description. They all appear to have been used in the war or grass dance.

Specimen Museum No. 50–1742 is a feathered crook modelled on the familiar type of curved lance that is common on the Plains, and to which the otterskin-wrapped lances of the second degree of the second Arapaho tribal ceremony belong.[1] The Gros Ventre too had such crooked lances in probably two of their tribal ceremonies. The present piece is about four feet long, and made of a stick painted yellow. There is no blade, or representation of it, at the lower end. At the end of the crook hangs a single eagle-feather. The greater portion of the shaft is covered by a casing of green cloth from which hang, attached by thongs and sinew wrapping painted yellow, a row of eighteen eagle-feathers.

A forked stick (specimen Museum No. 50–4328) resembles the Arapaho pieces of this kind described in the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History" (Vol. XVIII, p. 358). It is about six feet long, quite slender, and painted red. Some distance in the fork a quill-covered hoop is attached to the two spreading sticks. This hoop is red, with four white, blue-bordered areas on it. The ends of the fork are ornamented with a short green-cloth fringe, tufts of yellow-dyed hair, and feathers notched at the top. From the junction of the two arms downward,

[1] Compare Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part II, Plate XXXII.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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514 country do what I did. When buffalo go to drink, Indians just
522 shoot them. I was just re-enacting this. What I did was proper.'
*796 To this the husband replied: 'My elder brother, that's true.'

"When the people heard the laughing, they came flocking around. The other Blood was still laughing, in fact was in a laughing spell. His relatives carried him out and took him home and there dashed water on him and revived him."

Peyote Cult and Ghost Dance

● 668 What little we were able to gather on the peyote cult and Ghost
795 Dance among the Gros Ventres, is here presented.

Peyotism is entirely lacking among the present-day Gros Ventres and appears never to have gained a foothold among them in the past. Some individuals, we were told by The Boy and Thick, had tried to introduce it, but without success as the Gros Ventres were "a little afraid of it." The fact that the Gros Ventres have been under fairly intensive Catholic missionary influence since the middle 1880's may partly account for the resistance.[43] Some young Gros Ventres, who were on a visit to the Crows, were invited to take part in Peyote observances, but declined.

On the fortunes of the Ghost Dance among the Gros Ventres, our chief informants were Cora Chandler and her husband Al Chandler, Coming Daylight, The Boy, Thick, Charles Buckman and Thomas Main. Singer had joined the movement but though perfectly willing to speak freely about other subjects was somewhat reluctant to talk about this one. Our other informants had not joined the Ghost Dance, but Cora Chandler's people "were strong for it." Coming Daylight was, as will be explained, in close contact with certain phases of it, and The Boy had been present as a spectator at many Ghost Dance gatherings.

The Ghost Dance was called among the Gros Ventres, not
[172] "Ghost Dance," but "Little Round Dances." It was first introduced among them in 1891 by a Gros Ventre from the Hays area who had lived among the Arapaho of Wyoming a number of years, had

[43] Coming Daylight came in contact with the Peyote Cult on a visit some years ago to Oklahoma, but, she remarked, "the Catholic Indians in Oklahoma were against peyote."

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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attended the Ghost Dance there, and had returned to Hays in that year. As introducer and leader of the cult he preached wa:hatcan (lit. "reunion of all together," cf. wahanichina "unite" [Sifton]), signifying the rising of the dead Indians either in the near future or at the end of the world, and predicted the return of the buffalo, and into his message wove something of both Christ and the Flat Pipe. Big gatherings of Gros Ventres listened to him. Some few became converts, but most remained spectators and hearers only and declined to join. Further, the Gros Ventres did not join at all in the Ghost Dance political uprising. They had previously given their word not to go to war with the whites. The movement lasted just two years and then died out.[44]

The factors accounting for the resistance to and decline of the Ghost Dance among the Gros Ventres were, according to The Boy and Charles Buckman, the following. The older men and women did not believe Returns-to-war and the other promoters because "they had to be shown, and they felt that it was impossible for the dead, to rise again and for the buffalo to come back." The younger fellows, of the age of The Boy and Charles Buckman at the time, that is, around twenty years, did not believe because "the younger generation was then going to the Catholic missionaries and had learned different." Moreover, in 1893, some Wyoming Arapaho visited Hays and from them the Gros Ventres found that Returns-to-war had "exaggerated the story," so they all quit the Ghost Dance.

From Cora Chandler, Coming Daylight and Al Chandler we gathered the following information that sheds additional light on the rise of the Gros Ventre Ghost Dance and especially on the causes believed to have led to its rejection and decline.

During the rites, there would be round dances; the dancers would be painted after which they would sing and sing; the songs

[44] Mooney, 1896, p. 817 in his exhaustive study of the situation states that a Gros Ventre had been visiting in 1889 among the Arapaho and "heard the story and brought back the wonderful news to the Gros Ventres and Assiniboine of Fort Belknap, but although his account was received by some with unquestioning faith, the excitement had in it nothing of a dangerous character."

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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themselves were very lively ones; preaching of the content of the Ghost Dance message was a prominent feature.

Among those who took over leadership in the movement, along with Returns-to-war, was an outstanding medicine man who died a Catholic many years later, but who at the time of the Ghost Dance movement was bitterly anti-Catholic.

For one Ghost Dance gathering on a certain moonlight night, he had called the people to his place outside and a great many came, among them Coming Daylight and Cora Chandler's father's brother, Black Wolf, who was "one of the strong believers." After some singing and dancing, the leader said: "Wait, I am going out on that little hill over there. You all watch. I will stand there. When you see little sparks you will know the spirit has come." So he went up on the hill alone while the people stayed behind, singing, dancing and watching. Coming Daylight watched him and saw him "take a lot of matches, wet them so that they glowed in the dark, and hold his hands so that those dancing saw this fire glow." The people rushed over to him, glad that the spirit had come. The leader then took them back to the spot where they had been dancing and said to them: "Wait until tomorrow, and I will tell you what the spirit told me."

Each one who joined the Ghost Dance was supposed to have a feather of eagle down. The next morning, the leader told Black Wolf: "Your (deceased) son says you should go to where he is buried and he will bring you a feather." In the course of this day Coming Daylight happened to go over to the leader's house and there she found him sitting with all kinds of feathers around him and fixing one especially. She observed it closely to be sure she would recognize it if she should see it again. When she went back to her lodge, she said to her husband, Little Man, "That crazy thing is still fixing feathers. He is certainly up to something." She told her husband what she had seen and said: "I think he must be up to something crazy."

So when night came, Black Wolf and his wife went up to their son's grave, out on the hills near Old Hays. Sure enough there on the grave was a stick with eagle down on it. They were glad, for they thought their son's spirit had brought it to them,

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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and they went back to their house where a crowd was waiting to see if the feather would really be found as the leader had predicted. The leader, Coming Daylight, and her husband Little Man, were in the crowd. The leader took the feathered stick and handed it to Coming Daylight, who said right out: "Oh, that is the very same one I saw him fixing. . . . How could a ghost hand fix these feathers the way they are fixed?"

Notwithstanding this public exposure, the leader [no doubt later and privately] told Black Wolf's wife that because she had gotten this feather from the dead she could get anything she wanted, but that he (the leader) would have to have [sexual intercourse with] her first. She told her husband and "when he found out it was a trick, he sure was mad and he went over and was going to murder that man."

Cora Chandler added that a lot of women were gotten through this trick, that there were many such Ghost Dance bosses, or leaders, and that they used to get cattle, horses, and anything they wanted, including the women.

Singer said that although she joined the Ghost Dance, she did not have to pay anything, but that her husband, when they brought him a message from one of his dead relatives, cried and gave what they asked, a buckskin horse, to the old woman boss. "They used to have women bosses as well as men bosses in the Ghost Dance."

Returns-to-war once came to Coming Daylight's husband, Little Man, and told him: "Your young brother, who got killed in the war, wants a horse, bridle and saddle." Little Man, who was a good deal of a skeptic in things religious, declined with the retort: "What is a ghost going to do with a horse and saddle?"

According to Al Chandler, "Jack Wilson got away with all kinds of things. Before he died he brought his son here to Hays and his son eloped with one girl, and that cooked his goose. They found out he was a fraud." According to Coming Daylight, "he [Jack Wilson] had a lot of women through that [the Ghost Dance]. He would choose the prettiest and best looking woman to make his smudge for him. He would have a little hut." At this point in the conversation, Singer broke in and would not let Coming Daylight continue along this line. We have come across no other

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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record of the original Jack Wilson (Wovoka) visiting the Gros Ventres. Could the Jack Wilson above mentioned be some other Indian who was an impostor or one who in good faith took Wovoka's white-man's name?

In addition, the causes listed by The Boy and Thick for the failure of the Ghost Dance to take real root among the Gros Ventre, the chicanery, racketeering and sexual episodes, attributed by many of the Gros Ventres to the leaders of the movement, must have contributed appreciably to the same result.

At any rate, the movement lasted only two years, 1891-1893, and appears to have left no permanent impression on Gros Ventre life. At or shortly after these dates, however the modern non-gambling hand game was introduced from Ghost Dance sources.

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4: Flannery & Cooper E-5 (1939-1945) 1946
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525 Women (and men?) also gambled at ring-and-pin, the "ring" being made of four bones from deer feet.[4] The contest was mostly just for fun; the losers would have to "cook" for the winners.

Several types of bow and arrow contests, serving as archery practice as well as gambling sports, were indulged in by boys, young men, and sometimes older men, not, however, by girls or women. Both distance and accuracy contests occurred. In the latter, the target was a stick or arrow stuck upright in a small mound, or an arrow shot by one contestant a desired distance, say, 100 or 150 yards. In another kind of contest, a bow was set slanting, string upward; the string was vibrated by an arrow and the arrow on release flew toward the target about 35 or 40 feet away. In these bow and arrow contests, the wagers were small, usually arrows, sometimes a bow. Wagers were made by the players, and at times by onlookers too.

The modern 4-button hand game, distinct from the earlier 2-button one, is played more for fun than for winnings. At most the losers may be expected to [177] "cook" for the winners. This modern non-gambling hand game came to the Gros Ventre through an Arapaho, Dances All Night, in 1897, shortly after the [68] time the Ghost Dance was introduced among them (in 1891). The Ghost Dance itself had little popularity among the Gros Ventre and after a couple of years died out among them, but the non-gambling hand game took root and survived. At first, we were informed, it was played with two buttons, but after 1903 with four.

525 178 Gambling at playing cards, sometimes for large stakes, occurs today, but usually at the nearby white settlements, between Gros Ventre and white males. Some of the older Gros Ventre are shrewd poker players, and the younger ones play poker among themselves, but we obtained no record of ruinous stakes at cards among the Gros Ventre themselves on the reservation.

Major Gambling Games and Sports

525 The three more important gambling games and sports of half a century or more ago were races, the wheel game, and the 2-button hand game.

1. *Races*

[575] [648] On horse races, usually between the two soldier-police societies, the Stars and Wolves (the latter became later the "Grass Dancers"), or between the Gros Ventre and other tribes, such as the Piegan, at intertribal gatherings, were placed large bets—horses, saddles, and so forth—by the men, not however by

4 Illustration in Culin, *op. cit.*, fig. 706, p. 537.